SAVE INDIA FOR THE EMPIRE!

Daily Mail

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PRICE ONE PENNY

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Daily Mail

FOREWORD

BY LORD CARSON

THE proposal to abdicate British rule in India—for, disguise it as you will, that is the reality—is the most vital for us and for India that has arisen within the lifetime of the present generation.

Whether it is right or wrong to set up Home Rule on a Dominion—or something approaching a Dominion—basis can only be solved by the fullest knowledge of the subject. It is a matter that must be decided apart altogether from its effect on what any set of politicians with their hands full of other important questions may think to be the interests of the particular party or coalition of parties to which they may belong.

Lord Carson.

And yet there is probably no question which has arisen on which the vast bulk of the population, both of this country and of India, have received so little instruction and are so uninformed. Therefore the first duty of all who can lend a hand is to aid in the education of those who must, or at least should eventually, decide this issue by their votes.

How many of our electors know what India is ?

How many, if you asked them, could tell you how India was created, and at what sacrifice ?

To show the gigantic nature of the task of British rule in India is it not enough to recall that the population of that country numbers 350,000,000, speaking 222 languages ?

Can it be denied that out of this vast horde, with so little in the nature of national cohesion, Great Britain has built up a colossal structure which she can look at with well-founded pride, and the knowledge that nothing similar has ever been achieved by any country in the world at any date of its history ?

When we are asked to change all this in the name of Freedom, let us at least be told who represents and speaks for this vast and divergent population. Who demands the change, and who is competent to take over the responsibility ?

No elector can shield himself under any party prejudice from the duty of facing these questions.

No doubt there will be plenty of material and argument forthcoming, which may even shatter parties and Governments, but whatever conclusion each voter comes to, let it be based on knowledge of the difficult facts as far as he can learn and understand them.

Let him not be turned aside by catchwords or phrases, which are so seductive, but help so little.

I hope this most useful book will be read and digested by seekers after the truth, and with the sole object that right may prevail.

CARSON OF DUNCAIRN.

The Viceroy and Lady Willingdon.

224981.

THE BETRAYAL OF OUR TRUST

By SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

Formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab

"Providence alone protects our Empire. We on our part are doing all we can to destroy it."

THUS spoke Demosthenes over 2,000 years ago of Athens, an Empire like ours established and maintained by sea-power. That is what is happening before our eyes in the British Empire to-day.

It was built up by our forefathers; it is being destroyed by our present generation of politicians.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Ireland, as the result of the Treaty of 1921, has become in practice a hostile republic slipping rapidly into economic anarchy and Communism; we have in the last few years sacrificed our rights in Egypt and Iraq, thereby imperilling our routes to the East; we have since 1930 given a crazy democratic constitution to Ceylon which is being used to paralyse British trade, reject the Ottawa agreement, and squeeze out the small nucleus of British officials, leaving the clique of Sinhalese politicians, to whom we have surrendered power, to exploit the island for their own selfish objects.

India still remains. In the words of Lord Curzon, the great Viceroy, **"India is the pivot of our Empire. If this Empire loses any other part of its Dominions, we can survive. But if we lose India, the sun of our Empire will have set."**

What the Loss of India Means

No one with any sense of our position as an Empire can deny the truth of those words. The loss of India will mean the loss of hundreds of millions of the capital we have invested in its development, will bring misery to hundreds of millions of our Indian fellow subjects for whose welfare we are responsible, and dire want to millions of our own workers who depend for their livelihood on our annual trade of about £200,000,000 by which India and Great Britain equally benefit.

And yet the late Socialist Government inaugurated, and the present National Government blindly accepted from them and is steadily pursuing, a policy which inevitably involves the withdrawal of Great Britain from India "after a period of transition," the sacrifice of our great work of pacification and development within the last 300 years, and the imminent risk that India will become another China, a prey to banditry, war lords, internal anarchy, and external invasion—to all the ills from which our forefathers have rescued her.

The Simon Report Scrapped

The ignoble policy of surrender in its latest phases began in 1929, when the Socialist Government decided to ignore the proposals of the Royal Commission under Sir John Simon.

Those proposals, though open to criticism in some respects, were unanimously arrived at by representatives of all parties after two years' intensive study of the problems in India, and form an admirable basis for Parliament to work upon. But the Socialist Government, in its mania for gestures, scrapped the Report, never consulted Sir John Simon or his colleagues, and, doubtless in deference to the ambitious Indian politicians who feared them because they knew too much, the Government carefully excluded every one of them from the three subsequent Conferences.

They also excluded any soldier or administrator or financier with practical first-hand knowledge of Indian conditions. Defence, Civil administration and Finance are the three pillars of any Constitution; lacking any competent advice on those essentials the Round Table discussions and the White Paper which emerges from them are pervaded with a spirit of unreality and make-believe, so that it is impossible to base on them any working constitution.

Socialist Policy Imposed on Conservative Party

That fine soldier, the late Sir Charles Monro, was Commander-in-Chief when the late Mr. E. S. Montagu, then Secretary of State, went to India in 1917–18. Describing Mr. Montagu's methods, he said, "When I am with Mr. Montagu I feel as if I were walking with a man who is steadily edging me towards a precipice, and when he gets me near enough will push me over."

That is what the late and the present Government have been doing since 1929. The stages in the process are briefly these:—

(1) The Dominion Status declaration by Lord Irwin of October, 1929.

(2) The three Round Table Conferences from which emerged

(*a*) The declaration of the Socialist Government—a minority Government—on January, 1931, "that responsibility, for the Government of India (hitherto resting on the Crown and Parliament), should be placed upon Indian Legislatives, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary during a period of transition."

(*b*) The declaration of the same Prime Minister, as head of the National Government in December, 1931, that he was authorised by his colleagues in the Cabinet (mainly Conservatives) **to say that the Indian policy of the late Socialist Government was that of the present National Government.**

(3) The present White Paper which is intended to give effect to that policy "on the understanding that the responsible Government so established must, **during a period of transition,** be qualified by limitations in certain directions."

Towards the Precipice

Thus the country is being steadily pushed towards the precipice. But there are still two obstacles which may save us, viz.:

(*a*) The Joint Committee now examining the White Paper, of which, however, a majority are avowed supporters, and

(*b*) Parliament, which will have the final word when the Government presents the Bill to give effect to what is not inaptly styled the policy of "Surrender."

Unfortunately, in all those stages the Conservative party—or a majority of it **in Parliament though not in the country**—which should stand for our imperial obligations and our responsibility for "the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples," has, at the bidding of its leaders, calmly acquiesced in the Socialist policy.

They justify their attitude by the parrot cry of "We must honour our pledges," even though disaster may result, by the ridiculous assertion that failure to grant all the proposals will lead to general disturbances in India (similar forebodings were heard in 1922 and 1931 when Mr. Gandhi was brought to justice, but in fact not a dog barked) and by the bogey that a Socialist Government may go much further—as if it were possible to carry further the policy of abandonment!

Mr. Baldwin's Support of the Socialist Policy

Mr. Baldwin, indeed, now tells us that the only way to keep India within the Empire is to accept the White Paper—which clearly intends to throw India away "after a period of transition"!

Throughout he has thrown his great influence on the side of surrender. In 1929, as leader of the Opposition, **without consulting his own colleagues,** when approached by the Prime Minister he first agreed to the announcement of Dominion Status; later **after consulting his colleagues** and ascertaining that the Simon Commission were opposed to the announcement, he withdrew that agreement. (Hansard, November 7, 1929.)

Again on January 26, 1931, when the Socialist declaration was challenged in the House of Commons by a section of Conservatives, Mr. Baldwin tried to commit the party to acceptance in these remarkable words:

"We are His Majesty's Opposition, and if it should happen that we should change places with right honourable gentlemen opposite, what do honourable members behind me

suppose that our duty would be? **We have only one duty, to try to implement, so far as we can, what has been done in the Conference."** (The proposed transfer of responsibility from Parliament to Indian Legislature.)

If it is ever the duty of an Opposition to oppose here was clearly the occasion. Mr. Baldwin's words created profound alarm in Parliament and still more in the country. But he has been consistent. Having changed places with the routed Socialist Government he is still, as the head of a great party—three-fourths of the House of Commons—using all his authority to force the Socialist policy on unwilling followers.

Hence the widespread revolt, extraordinary in its strength and its spontaneity, among Conservatives all over the country.

The Only Binding Pledge

As regards pledges, there is one that takes priority over all others, and must be honoured at all costs—the promise in Queen Victoria's historic proclamation of 1858 (when the Crown took over the Government from the East India Company) **"to administer the government of the country for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein."**

That pledge is repeated in the Reforms Act of 1919, where Parliament emphasises its own responsibility for "the welfare and advancement of the peoples of India."

But the White Paper has not a word—nor had the three Round Table Conferences—as to how the proposals are to promote that welfare. It is only concerned with the desire to meet the demands of ambitious high-caste Indian politicians.

The experience of the past shows, in matters such as the protection of the peasantry (80 per cent. of the population) against usury and expropriation and the high tariffs imposed for the benefit of a small group of manufacturers who have subsidised Gandhi's boycott agitation, that those ambitions are often in direct opposition to the interests of the masses.

Setting Up the Rule of a Sham Democracy

The White Paper, by removing British control and protection, will leave the rural masses, who are non-vocal, illiterate and unorganised politically, an easy prey for the urban politicians, mainly high-caste Hindus and described by an Indian writer as "the most cruel and relentless oligarchy known to history."

For, apart from the Army and Foreign affairs reserved to the Viceroy for "a period of transition," all powers, all the machinery of Government, all the great British Indian services, hitherto under impartial British control, are to be placed under Indian ministers, who will be generally inexperienced, often violently partisan, sometimes openly or secretly anti-British.

These ministers are to be nominally responsible to Indian legislatures—**from which the present substantial British element practically disappears**—which in turn are supposed to be responsible to Indian electorates.

The proposals of the Lothian Committee, it is proudly said,

will raise the electorate from 7,000,000 to 35,000,000, out of a population of 270,000,000 in British India. But this is simply paying lip service to the catchwords of democracy.

In India there is even less desire for and less use for democracy than in any Oriental country. The Simon Commission have put it on record that " the great majority of the people prefer **personal rule,** and for many years to come we can see no alternative to it."

Apart from the enormous cost and immense difficulties of bringing 35,000,000 voters, or even half of them, to the poll, the fact that at least 80 per cent. of the voters would be illiterate, knowing nothing of and caring less for politics, would make them an easy prey for the seditious agitator and the preacher of racial or communal hatred. How can you have responsible government without a responsible electorate ?

Indian Self-Government in Actual Working

It is urged, however, that the corrective for irresponsibility is responsibility. Here again we have experience to guide us.

The local bodies in India, corresponding to our county councils and municipalities, were as the result of the Reforms of 1919 given " the largest possible independence of official control." The results have been disastrous in almost every province.

The great cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Surat, Poona and Benares, all governed by an urban Hindu intelligentsia, are to-day notorious examples of the grossest municipal maladministration and of anti-British feeling.

The Governor of one great Province wrote " misappropriation of public funds is a subject rather for mirth or envy than for reprobation."

Dealing with the point that the members would learn by experience and that the electors would interfere to right matters, he added: "The modern politicians, as elected by the District Boards and Municipalities, have no desire to be trained. They resent interference. The people pathetically reproach Government and its officers for allowing these things to be." But their hands are tied.

There is also a consensus of opinion that in all the spheres of administration hitherto transferred to Indian Ministers there has been steady deterioration either in efficiency or in the British standards of integrity and impartiality maintained in the past. The appendices to the Simon Report make that clear.

Among the departments transferred to Indian Ministers in 1921 were Education and Agriculture ; British recruitment at once ceased. The Simon Commission put it on record

(1) " The progressive extinction of the (British element in) Indian educational service, has been disastrous to the organisation of Indian education " ; and

(2) " We are convinced that from the point of view of wider outlook and variety of experience **officers recruited abroad** are in a position to make a valuable contribution to the development of Indian agriculture."

These suggestions have fallen on deaf ears.

The Simon Commission also strongly recommended the continuance of British recruitment for the two great services of Irrigation and Forests. The White Paper ignores all those proposals: it subordinates the "welfare of the peoples of India," in promoting which the British services have won the admiration of the world, to the desire of a section of Indian politicians to secure for themselves and their friends the posts—less than 3,000 for 353,000,000 of people—still filled by the British.

Elimination of the British Official

All the services are to be provincialised, that is Indianised, except the I.C.S. and Police. These two are given a respite for five years. But this modest proposal is violently denounced by even the Indian Moderates who are to work the new constitution as an "intolerable indignity"!

The wishes of the masses, who in every emergency turn to the British official for protection and redress, generally against oppression by their own people, and desire above all things that the British official should stay, count for nothing; the Indian politicians are alone considered. **It has already become a byword in India that the surest way to power and place is hostility to the British.**

Thus we see every great interest in our Indian Empire, the British connection, British trade, the British share in the legislature and the administration, the loyal Indian Princes, our loyal supporters in British India, and, above all, the Indian rural masses—90 per cent. of the population—being sacrificed or endangered in the vain desire to conciliate a small section of ambitious Indian politicians.

These, whether of the Congress or so-called Moderate Party, have denounced the White Paper proposals as grossly inadequate! They make no secret of their intention to follow the example of Mr. de Valera in repudiating the so-called safeguards.

Sham Safeguards

Those safeguards are meant to be exercised by the Viceroy and Governors of Provinces for the maintenance of public security and financial stability, protection of minorities and of the services, prevention of fiscal discrimination.

They may look very well **on paper.** In practice they will be nugatory; for they can only be exercised through the agency of the public services and those services, except the Army, will be under the control of the very ministers whose misdoings have compelled the Governor-General or Governor to intervene.

In such conditions the Governor will either hesitate to act, or, if he decides to act, will find himself confronted either with the resignation of his ministers or with obstruction or delay, if not open refusal, in carrying out his orders. Only supermen could work such a scheme, and these are rare.

That is the lopsided and complex system of Government proposed for 350,000,000 of people, speaking 120 languages and including every race, religion and culture known to Europe and Asia, "marching with uneven steps through the centuries from

the sixth to the twentieth." The system might work in Utopia; for India it is impossible.

The Supreme Test

The supreme test is whether the proposals will promote the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, at least as well as the existing system of British control which is now to be abandoned.

The essentials of good government in every country are:

(1) External and internal security. (2) Impartial justice. (3) Progressive and efficient administration. (4) Light taxation.

India has up to date enjoyed these to a degree unknown in her past history and unparalleled in any Asiatic country. Every one of these essentials is being jeopardised by the White Paper scheme. Its advocates have been repeatedly challenged to show that it can stand these tests: they have not dared so far to meet the challenge.

Till they have done so they have no right to ask the British people and Parliament to transfer to a narrow intelligentsia, largely dominated by a Brahman oligarchy, for whose legitimate ambitions ample scope is given in the wide extension of provincial autonomy (which is generally accepted in spite of the great risks involved), the control of a great Empire.

Even if the British people have no regard for the work of their forefathers in India or their own great interests there to-day, they have no right, legally or morally, to sacrifice the welfare of the helpless Indian masses, still political minors, for whom they are the trustees but whom the White Paper ignores.

M. F. O'DWYER.

Burning Lancashire cotton goods at Poona, India. Lancashire pays taxes to defend India, but the Nationalists have proclaimed that their first act on obtaining power would be to shut out her products.

VITAL INDIAN FACTS AND FIGURES.

MOST MOTLEY LAND ON EARTH.

WHAT IS INDIA?

Not a country, but a Continent.
Not a Nation, but a Noah's ark of races, religions and tongues.

INDIA NEVER HAD—

Unity, security, peace, justice, communications, public health *—until the British came.*

MODERN INDIA IS A BRITISH CREATION.

Britain's relations with India began with commerce. They developed into conquest, not by design, but under pressure of circumstances and against the national will.

We went to India to find trade. We ended by founding an Empire.

Great Britain has never drawn any funds from India except for Indian purposes, or for common interests like the Great War.

She has allowed the Indian Government to put heavy duties on imports of British goods, while British industry is taxed for Indian defence.

AREA OF INDIA. 1,800,000 square miles=more than twenty times that of Britain, or the size of Europe without Russia.

POPULATION (Feb., 1931). 351,450,689=one-fifth of world. (Males—180,973,016; Females—170,477,673.) Increase in last ten years, 10 per cent.

India is divided into two parts, jigsaw-puzzle fashion, over the whole peninsula. Of these the larger is :—

BRITISH INDIA

(1,100,000 sq. miles), governed by the Viceroy and his central Indian Government, with the capital in winter at New Delhi, and in summer at the hill-station of Simla.

POPULATION, 270,612,162. Divided into ten "Governors' Provinces," with certain other areas, such as Baluchistan.

PROVINCES (in order of size) :—

	Population.	Size.
Burma	14,652,000	Larger than France.
Madras	46,731,000	Larger than Italy.
Bombay	21,102,000	Larger than Italy.
Punjab	23,580,000	Larger than Great Britain.
United Provinces	48,423,000	Larger than Great Britain.
Central Provinces	15,472,000	Larger than Great Britain.
Bihar and Orissa	37,590,000	Equal to England and Scotland.
Bengal	49,997,000	Rather smaller than England and Scotland.
Assam	8,784,000	Equal to England.
North-West Frontier Province	2,423,000	Equal to Scotland and Wales together.

ADMINISTERED AREA :—

Baluchistan .. .. Population 463,000
Burma, and Aden in Arabia are included in British India. Their connection is only administrative. Both are as distinct from India as from Britain.

INDIAN STATES,

under Native Princes, dovetailed into British Indian territory (700,000 square miles). Number of States, 600. Population, 80,838,527. One-third of India in area, nearly a quarter in population. Not British territory, but under the suzerainty of the King-Emperor.

Their relations to the Crown are defined by treaty. They (1) manage their own internal affairs ; (2) collect their own taxes ; (3) make their own laws ; (4) maintain their own armed forces—all under the advice of British residents.

Their foreign affairs are in the hands of the Crown, which is formally pledged to respect their privileges. There is a Council of Princes to discuss their common interests.

These States range in size from princely realms like Hyderabad (pop. 14,395,000), which is larger than England and Scotland together, down to Mount Abu (pop. 4,500), and Lawa (pop. 2,700), in Rajputana, which are hardly more than country estates.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION.

India is a vast agricultural area. Only 10 per cent. of her 350 millions live in urban districts. The rest are small cultivators inhabiting 500,000 villages of mud or bamboo huts. "The proportion of these who give a thought to matters beyond the horizon of their villages is very small."—Montagu-Chelmsford Report, 1918. The wealthier of these villagers have small holdings up to five acres and a pair of bullocks for ploughing. They till by traditional methods. Others are agricultural labourers or craftsmen. Most of these peasants are in debt to the village moneylenders, owing to their habit of heavy expenditure on wedding-feasts.

CITIES.

CALCUTTA. Population (with suburbs) 1,383,000—former capital. Jute, oil and flour mills.

BOMBAY. Population 1,157,000. "Gateway of India." Cotton mills.

MADRAS. Population 647,000. Silk mills.

KARACHI. Population 260,000. India's newest city. Population increased 20 per cent. this last decade. Air port.

There are 36 cities in India (including Rangoon and Mandalay in Burma) with more than 100,000 population.

Many city dwellers are peasants come there temporarily to earn money. Partly through habit and partly through poverty, the poorer townspeople live under very congested conditions. Seventy per cent. of the Bombay tenements are of one room, with an average of four people sharing each.

LANGUAGES.

222 different languages are spoken in India, nearly all mutually unintelligible. Hindustani is the most widespread. English is the official language, and the one used by educated Indians of different tongues to communicate with each other.

2,500,000 natives of India can read and write English—16 per thousand males, 2 per thousand females.

RELIGIONS.

India is a land of infinite religious diversity. Two-thirds of its population are Hindus of various grades. This religion claims about one-half of the people of the British Empire, and one-eighth the population of the world if out-castes are included.

Hindus worship an immense number of gods. Their outlook on life is entirely different from that of Europeans. Their religion is highly formalist, and prescribes rules for every detail of daily life.

The foundation of the Hindu social system is caste.

No man can get out of the caste in which he is born; he must marry within it. Generally, some particular occupation is followed by each caste.

There are about 2,300 castes. The chief are :—

The Brahmans—priests and teachers.
The Kshatryas—warriors.
The Vaishyas—traders and peasants.

Below the elaborate gradation of caste come the Untouchables, who form 30 per cent. of the Hindu religion. They are supposed to be the descendants of a forgotten conquered race. "For all other Hindus they cause pollution by touch, and defile food or water" (Simon Report). In the villages they live in separate quarters, and eat food which no other section of the community would accept.

Cruel Hindu religious practices like Thuggism (the sacrificial murder of travellers) and Suttee (the burning alive of widows) have been forbidden by our Government in India. Temple prostitution and child marriage still remain.

Scattered about everywhere among the Hindus, and equal to about one-third of their number, are the Indian Moslems, descendants or converts of Mohammedan invaders from the North-West. Their religion is much closer to Christianity than Hinduism. For Moslems there is only one God, and Mahomet is His prophet. Moslems are in the majority in Bengal, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, and Baluchistan.

Between Hindus and Moslems exists a fierce hostility. Their religions clash on many points. The Hindus have the advantage of numbers; the Moslems that of fighting capacity. From 1923 to 1927 there were 450 reported killed and 5,000 injured in Hindu-Moslem fights. The real casualties were doubtless many more. On March 24, 1931, a terrible massacre of Moslems by Hindus broke out in Cawnpore; at least 1,000 are believed to have perished.

ESTIMATED FIGURES OF RACES AND RELIGIONS.

Caste Hindus .	170,000,000	Moslems ..	80,000,000
Untouchables (out-caste Hindus)	75,000,000	Buddhists (almost all in Burma) ..	13,000,000
Sikhs (reformed Hindus) ..	4,000,000	Parsis (a Persian sect) ..	110,000
Jains (another Hindu sect) ..	1,250,000	Christians ..	6,000,000

ANGLO-INDIANS (people of mixed Indian and British blood.)

About 115,000 of these in the whole of India. Mostly minor officials on railways and in Government Departments.

EUROPEANS. Predominantly British—160,000, including 45,000 women. Majority in Army or Government service.

Officers and men in British Army and officers of Indian Army	60,000
Civil Servants (upper grades)	3,500
Lower grades	8,500
Adult males in non-official occupations—commerce, shipping, banking, planting, clergy, etc.	22,000

Few children, as at the age of five they have to be sent home to England on account of the climate.

This small British population maintains practically the whole organisation of India. "Its importance is out of all proportion to its size" (Simon Report).

DEFENCE AND INTERNAL ORDER.

British Army in India—60,000.

5 cavalry regiments.
45 infantry battalions, each with an Indian platoon.
60 batteries Royal Artillery.

Royal Air Force—8 squadrons, 96 machines.
Indian Army—162,000.

21 cavalry regiments.
134 infantry battalions (with 34,000 Indian reservists).

The British troops in India are the cream of our army. The Indian army is the finest native force that has existed in the world since Rome raised her provincial legions.

India is more exposed to invasion than any other part of the British Empire. Through the gaps in the huge mountain wall that separates her from the rest of Asia, she was repeatedly and successfully invaded until the British established their rule and protection over her peoples.

Even now there is constant trouble with the warlike tribes along the N.W. Frontier. Between 1850 and 1922 72 punitive expeditions against them were necessary. But for constant British vigilance these fierce mountaineers would raid the fertile Indian plains. Beyond them lie Afghanistan and Russia, neither country belonging to the League of Nations. In 1919 we had to deal with a serious attempted invasion from Afghanistan instigated by the Bolshevist Government and supported by Nationalist outbreaks at Amritsar and elsewhere.

Besides guarding the Frontier, the British Army in India is used many times a year to quell internal religious riots. It is recognised by the natives themselves as the only impartial force for this purpose. Racial hatreds make the defence or maintenance of order by an Indian Nationalist Army an impossibility.

Nationalist agitators come from the class that provides the fewest soldiers. Most of them are disappointed Government job-hunters. Bengal produces most babus (educated natives) but no recruits. The Punjab, on the other hand, is not an intellectual province, but supplies 54 per cent. of the Indian Army.

To the Great War the Punjab sent 349,000 combatants ; Bengal 7,000.

Many of the Nationalist leaders have been educated in England. Gandhi was a student of the Inner Temple. Nehru was at a famous English public school. A racial inferiority complex forms a great part of the basis of the Indian Nationalist movement.

PRINCIPAL PUBLIC WORKS.

British rule has equipped India, alone among countries on the Continent of Asia, with the machinery of Western civilisation.

IRRIGATION.

India's rainfall is irregular and in parts very scanty. Native irrigation depends on wells and tanks.

By erecting enormous dams, the British have irrigated over 30,000,000 acres. The Sukkur Barrage, in the Northern part of the Bombay Presidency, opened in January, 1932, is the biggest in the world.

Total cost : £14,000,000. Area irrigated : 5,500,000 acres. Expected return on capital : 5 per cent.

The Sutlej Valley Works will irrigate 5,000,000 acres at higher cost.

These works have eliminated famine.

RAILWAYS.

Nearly all State-owned.

Route mileage, 42,753 miles, second only to U.S.A.

Capital invested, £625,000,000.

Passengers carried annually, 505,000,000.

Goods and livestock carried annually, 75,000,000 tons.

Profits on capital, 3½ per cent.

Number of workers, 730,000.

POWER.

Indian Industries absorb over 1,000,000 h.p. At present coal is the main source of supply. The Bombay Electric Works produce 55,000 h.p. The Mysore Works, 25,000 h.p. Large schemes are under development.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

Over 4,000 hospitals, treating 45,000,000 patients annually.

42 medical colleges and schools.

18 Universities, 9 founded since the War.

16 Law colleges, 21 Agricultural colleges, 232 Art colleges.

226,500 schools with 11,800,000 pupils.

14 per cent. of Indians can read and write.

Sanitation has vastly reduced the three immemorial scourges of India—plague, cholera and malaria. The terrible sufferings of Indian women isolated from medical aid in harems and zenanas have been mitigated by the provision of women doctors.

ADMINISTRATION.

	Europeans.	Indians.
Indian Civil Service (upper grades)	630	4,900
Indian Police (officers and sergeants)	1,400	187,000
Government Engineers	500	7,000
Forests Department	240	15,800
Education (upper grades)	200	1,300
Medical	200	5,800
Judiciary	230	2,250

Until the Montagu-Chelmsford plan for the rapid "Indianisation" of these services was put into force in 1919, the traditions of the Indian Civil Service were the finest of any administrative machine in the world. As with the Indian Army, many English families sent their sons generation after generation to India, carrying on inherited knowledge of the country and sympathy with its peoples.

FINANCE.

The annual revenue raised by the Government of India is about £94,000,000 a year. Complete disbelief prevails among high authorities on Indian finance as to the capacity of the Indian taxpayer to provide the money required for the working of the proposed new Indian Government, which it is estimated would cost an additional £20,000,000 a year.

TRADE.

Imports into India, £102,000,000, chiefly cotton goods, metals, machinery. Exports from India, £155,000,000, chiefly raw cotton, jute, grain and tea. India takes £34,000,000 worth of goods from Great Britain annually. Gandhi has announced that the prohibition of foreign (including British) cloth would be the first act of Indian Home Rule.

HOW INDIA IS GOVERNED.

Till the Montagu-Chelmsford "Reforms" of 1919 the Governor-General (Viceroy) was the supreme authority for the whole of British India. Provincial Governors were only his agents. He made the laws, with the assistance of a Legislative Council, at first nominated by himself, then, after the Morley-Minto "Reforms"

of 1909, partly elected by direct vote of Moslems and Hindus polling as separate communities. The control of the Governor-General over legislation was complete. Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, said :—

> "If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing at all to do with it."

In 1917, during the Great War, Mr. E. S. Montagu, who had become Secretary of State for India, announced his intention of arousing the natives of that country from what he termed "their placid, pathetic contentment." On August 20, 1917, he stated in Parliament that

> "the policy of H.M. Government is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. . . . Progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India . . . must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance."

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report, by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, was signed in April, 1918. It recorded that "India is still 'a country marching in uneven stages through all the centuries from the fifth to the twentieth.'" It admitted that "the number of Indians who really ask for free institutions does not exceed 5 per cent. of the population." Nevertheless it recommended the gradual realisation of provincial autonomy, leading on to the control by the people of India of matters concerning the whole country. The report provided for "a searching review" of this development by investigating bodies appointed by Parliament at twelve-year intervals. The Simon Report is the result of the first of these investigations.

In 1919 the Government of India Act brought the Montagu-Chelmsford "Reforms" into operation. It maintained the indisputable authority of the Governor-General "in essential matters."

The Central Government retained control over:

- Military matters.
- Foreign affairs.
- Customs.
- Railways.
- Posts and Telegraphs.
- Income tax.
- Currency.
- Public debt.
- Commerce and shipping.
- Civil and criminal law.

The Provincial Governors and their Legislative Councils were allowed to exercise authority over:

- Local self-government.
- Public health.
- Education.
- Public works.
- Land revenue.
- Famine relief.
- Agriculture and forests.
- Magistrates and police.

The Provincial Councils are 70 per cent. elected. One-tenth of the population was found capable of exercising the vote, but, owing to illiteracy, the ballot papers have to bear symbols as well as names by which to identify the candidates.

There are separate electorates for non-Moslems, Moslems, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. Women may vote, but very few have qualified to do so. As no "Untouchable" has a chance of being elected, Provincial Governors can nominate council-members to represent them.

The most conspicuous result of this extension of local autonomy to the natives of India has been a marked fall in the efficiency of the administration. Graft, jobbery, the sale of justice and the use of family influence are rife.

MODERN HISTORY OF INDIA.

1498 Sea-route to India discovered by Vasco da Gama of Portugal.

1502 First European settlement (Cochin) established by Portuguese.

1600 East India Company incorporated by Queen Elizabeth.

1612 First English trading-post established at Surat.

1661 Bombay ceded to England as part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza on her marriage to Charles II.

1744–54 Wars between English and French in India.

1756 Black Hole of Calcutta.

1757 Clive wins Battle of Plassey, and sets up British system of government in Bengal.

1772 Warren Hastings becomes Governor of Bengal, later first Governor-General of India. His financial reforms led to his impeachment before the House of Lords. Acquitted after seven years.

1800 The Carnatic, S.E. India, conquered.

1824 Burmese War. Rangoon taken.

1843 Sind conquered by Sir Charles Napier.

1845 Sikh War. Lahore occupied.

1849 Punjab conquered by Lord Gough.

1857 Indian Mutiny. Subdued by Generals Lawrence, Havelock, Nicholson, Outram, and Colin Campbell.

1858 Authority of East India Company transferred to Crown.

1877 Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India.

1909 Sir W. Curzon Wylie murdered in London by Indian Nationalist. Morley-Minto Reforms,—"in no sense a step towards Parliamentary Government . . . based on the fundamental principle that the Executive Government should retain the final decision of all questions."

1911 King and Queen visit India. Great Delhi Durbar. Seat of government transferred to Delhi.

1912 Lord Hardinge, Viceroy, bombed at Delhi.

1914–18 Germany during war encouraged Nationalist sedition. Indian Nationalists formed organisation in Berlin.

1917 "Responsible Government" first mentioned by Montagu, Secretary of State.

1919 Afghan War. Amritsar riots. Many Europeans murdered. Government of India Bill implemented Montagu-Chelmsford recommendations for Indianising and decentralising the administration.

1920 Gandhi started "non-co-operation" movement.

1921 Grave Moplah rebellion in Malabar. Visit of Prince of Wales to India. Gandhi organised strikes and insulting demonstrations against H.R.H. Riots and massacres of native police.

1922 Gandhi arrested. Sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment.

1924 Gandhi released after two years.

1926 Lord Irwin appointed Viceroy.

1927 Parliamentary Commission under Sir John Simon appointed. Nationalist Congress proclaims "Independence for India" as its aim.

1929 Lord Irwin announced that "Dominion status" was the goal towards which the British Government was working in India. Viceroy's train bombed. Bomb thrown in Indian Legislative Assembly.

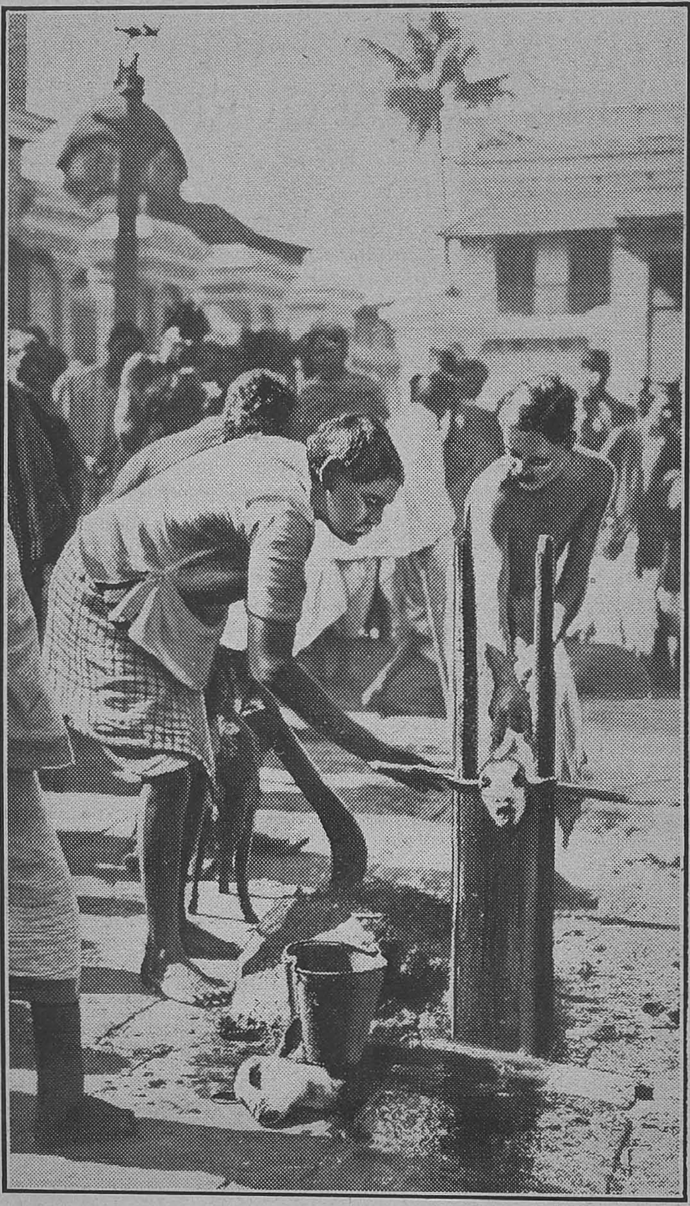
1930 Gandhi organises open defiance of Government by publicly breaking Salt Laws. Risings at Chittagong and Peshawar. Gandhi arrested. Simon Report published. Many murders of British officials and outrages. Round Table Conference meets in London.

1931 Gandhi released. Mrs. Curtis, wife of British officer, killed and children wounded. Governor of Punjab wounded. Boycott of British goods continued. Many violent riots. Lord Irwin negotiates "truce" with Gandhi. Nationalist law-breakers released from prison. Mr. Peddie, magistrate at Midnapore, murdered. Cawnpore massacre of Moslems. Lord Irwin leaves India. Lord Willingdon succeeds him as Viceroy. Second Round Table Conference, attended by Gandhi. Moslems and Hindus unable to reach agreement.

1932 On returning to India, Gandhi resumes civil disobedience, and is again arrested. Attempt on life of Sir Stanley Jackson, Governor of Bengal. Serious rioting between Hindus and Moslems in Bombay. British Prime Minister announces that the Indian policy of the National Government is the same as that of the late Socialist Government. Two attempts on the life of Sir Alfred Watson, Editor of the *Statesman*, Calcutta. Third Round Table Conference meets in London.

1933 March. Issue of White Paper embodying National Government's proposals for a Constitution for India. April. Select Committee of both Houses, together with Indian Representatives, appointed to draft the Indian Constitution Bill. May. Gandhi released from gaol.
June. Jam Sahib of Nawanagar (Ranjitsinhji), shortly before death, warns British statesmen of peril of Indian Federation policy. July. Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, states that the "malady of terrorism" in India is extremely grave. Witnesses before Select Committee state that terrorist crimes are taking place in India every week and that, since 1930, 112 murders and 380 outrages had occurred. September. Mr. B. E. J. Burge, District Magistrate of Midnapore, murdered (the third District Magistrate in that post to be murdered in three years).

1934 April. Gandhi abandons civil disobedience as political weapon. Grave allegations in House of Commons by Mr. Winston Churchill that pressure had been exerted on the Manchester Chamber of Commerce by Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, to procure the alteration of the evidence which the Chamber proposed to give before the Joint Select Committee.



The bloodthirsty cult of the goddess Kali involves the daily sacrifice of hundreds of goats at her temples throughout India. The animals are beheaded and replace the human sacrifices which the British régime in India suppressed.

THE WHITE PAPER AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

By

H. W. WILSON

THE Government proposals for Indian Constitutional Reform were published in an official White Paper in March, 1933 They are of the most involved and complicated nature. The White Paper admits that the federal system which is to be set up under them is like no other federation in the world.

In the Provinces diarchy (or the system of divided responsibility set up in 1919) is to be abolished and all departments are to be administered by Ministers responsible to the Legislature.

In the Central Government a Federal All-India Legislature is to be set up. It is to be composed of representatives of the Provinces and the States and is to have an executive responsible to it dealing with all departments excepting foreign affairs, defence and ecclesiastical affairs.

The Governor-General as Viceroy is to have control of these three excluded departments. The Federal Ministers will have the right to tender advice in all other matters, and he is to be guided by it, unless it conflicts with one of his "special responsibilities." These are:

> The prevention of grave menace to the peace of India.
>
> The safeguarding of the financial credit of the Federation.
>
> The safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the Minorities.
>
> The safeguarding of the legitimate rights and interests of members of the public services.
>
> The protection of the rights of Indian States.
>
> The prevention of commercial discrimination.
>
> Matters which affect the administration of the reserved departments.

Tremendous Risk

As to the value of these safeguards the gravest doubt prevails. If they are to prove effective India is not going to have self-government. If they are ineffective—as two of the ablest constitutional lawyers declare they are—then the risk to India is certain to prove tremendous.

A vital point is the control of justice and the police. Sir S. Hoare, Secretary for India, caused alarm by announcing on Feb. 22, 1933, in the House of Commons that:

> Without a transfer of law and order (which means the police) provincial control cannot work . . . the certain result would be to drive every political section of Indian opinion into non-co-operation.

That was a perfectly definite statement. The White Paper

leaves the question in obscurity. It tells the public that the Government intends to insert:

> In the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor (of a province) a direction that he should bear in mind the close connection between his special responsibility for peace and tranquillity and the internal administration and discipline of the police.

The anxiety of the British and Indian officers of the police is very great, as they fear that they may be placed under the extremist politicians, who will render their work impossible.

The Wreckers

One of the chief dangers of the scheme is that it is founded on the "basic assumption" that Indian politicians will "approach the administrative problems which will present themselves in the spirit of partners in a common enterprise."

The attitude of the Congress politicians is shown by the description which one of them has given of the White Paper as **"a damnable piece of British villainy."** Far from showing the "spirit of partners" they are declaring their intention of wrecking the scheme, and one of their leaders has actually gone to the Irish Free State to take practical lessons in the art of **trampling safeguards under foot.**

As for the finance of the new system there is complete uncertainty. The cost will admittedly be very heavy—much heavier than that of the present Indian Government, with two sets of legislature and two sets of Ministers. The White Paper, indeed, confesses that

> Economic and financial conditions may render it impracticable to supply the two sets of Governments with the necessary funds, in which case it would obviously be necessary to reconsider the position.

The total number of voters will be 36,000,000, most of whom will be illiterate.

The mere passing of an Act setting up the new constitution is not automatically to bring the Federation into existence. Before the Federation is set up

> Rulers of States representing not less than half the population of the Indian States must have agreed to join.
>
> A reserve Bank must have been set up.
>
> A Royal Proclamation must have been issued after an address to the Crown from both Houses of Parliament.

Meantime every day brings fresh evidence of the perils of this extraordinary gamble with the welfare of 350,000,000 people.

H. W. Wilson.

The following seven articles by Viscount Rothermere have appeared on various dates between April 17, 1933, and April 15, 1934, in "The Daily Mail" and "The Sunday Dispatch." They reveal the dangers of the Government's White Paper policy for India as illustrated by the example of Ceylon, where the abuses of native self-administration were personally investigated by Lord Rothermere. They further comment on the persistent effort made by the National Government to impose the White Paper policy upon Parliament.

INDIA AND THE LESSON OF CEYLON

BY VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE

Daily Mail, April 17, 1933.

COLOMBO, CEYLON.

OUT here one scans in vain the reports of the debates on the Indian Question in both Houses of Parliament for references to the new Constitution of Ceylon; yet this Constitution, thrust upon the people of this island less than two years ago, furnishes the most crushing and conclusive arguments against the Government's Indian policy.

In less than two years it has become manifest that the new Constitution here is quite unworkable. The representative body, the State Council, as it is called, has been captured by Oriental politicians who are simply using it as a lever to harass British interests here and as a weapon to force complete independence for the island.

Grotesque Measures

As in the Indian proposals, immense powers are reserved to the Governor. He can veto almost any measure. The politicians in Colombo are now engaged in passing through the State Council all kinds of grotesque measures to put before the Governor. When the inevitable veto has been announced, the politicians, at their party meetings and in public meetings throughout the island, denounce the Governor as being unfair to the people.

Council's Record

Let us see what this baby of representative Assemblies has done legislatively and administratively in its short life:

1. Carried by only one vote the cost of the Governor's travelling expenses, so that when this vote next time is refused—as I am assured it will be—the Governor will be marooned in his official residence without the necessary moneys to travel about the island.

2. Passed a Bill suspending all judgment summonses. This Bill, vetoed by the Governor, would have practically brought the whole business of the island to a standstill.

The banks and other credit institutions unable to collect the moneys due to them would have stopped all credit.

It is alleged that this measure was put forward to relieve impecunious members of the State Council of pressing obligations.

3. Passed taxation imposing higher taxes on British-owned businesses than on native-owned businesses.

4. Refused to carry out the Ottawa Agreements, thereby favouring Britain's trade rivals.

5. Administratively engaged in squeezing out the British officers of the Police Force, in whose hands rests entirely the maintenance of law and order.

While concentrating on squeezing out police officers there is a push all along the line to exclude British officials of all kinds, replacing them by native officials, although Ceylon's trade to-day is entirely the creation of British enterprise and capital.

These Ceylon legislators are now engaged also in framing a resolution of censure on the Governor, hoping that such resolutions as these will prevail upon a weak Government Department in Whitehall to repudiate his actions. If they succeed, they will consider that they have taken a long stride towards complete independence, which is their aim and object.

This game is known as Governor-baiting, and doubtless will be applied remorselessly to the first Governor-General appointed under the projected Constitution for India. At public meetings the people are further exhorted to copy the example of Ireland. They are told that the English people are not like their forefathers, and that sooner or later, and almost certainly sooner, the English people will surrender to clamour and agitation.

Heading for Disaster

These politicians are entirely without any sense of responsibility. They repudiated the Ottawa Agreements and are openly favouring the trade rivals of Britain in one of her own possessions. Yet there are all the signs that the Government finances here are steadily drifting towards complete demoralisation. A prominent business man who has made a close study of the situation tells me that it will be impossible for Ceylon to weather the financial storm. Without external assistance something like a complete economic breakdown is possible, and he predicts devastating unemployment and destitution.

In a spirit of levity the great port of Colombo, one of the two or three key ports of the world and the fifth greatest port of the world, was under the new Constitution handed over to Sinhalese control. This port is entirely the creation of British industry and capital. It lies right athwart the most important trade artery of the world and is as essential to international trade as the Suez or Panama canals. Yet its control was taken out of British hands by the British Government and handed over to Ceylon politicians.

In Ceylon there are four different languages, four different religions, and four different races. In India, so numerous are the languages, religions, and races that you may almost multiply these figures a hundred-fold. From the very beginning I have raised my voice, for what it is worth, against any proposals for the Government of India which would in effect replace the present Government of authority with a Government of talk.

The Indian proposals are simply proposals to govern by talk. They are in direct defiance of the whole trend of modern demo-

cratic movement. European peoples, such as the German, Italian, Polish, and Portuguese, ballot with full knowledge of the futility and folly of the ballot box. Politicians are turning from Government by talk to Government by authority. It will be a strange commentary on the Government's policy towards India if at the time of the promulgation of a new Constitution for that country they at the same time have to revoke the mushroom fraud in Ceylon; and yet such a contingency, I venture to prophesy, may easily arise.

The suggested Indian Constitution is a hotch-potch of contradictory crudities. While making the Governor-General responsible for law and order in India, it places the Police Force of 400,000 men, whose special responsibility this is, under a native Minister who may be entirely hostile to us. He might refuse to carry out the wishes or instructions of the Viceroy, and in doing so bring dramatically to an end British rule in India.

From the date of the promulgation of the new Constitution **India will be bankrupt.** The present Finance Minister is warning the people of India that the new Government will be much more expensive than the old Government. To-day, only with the greatest difficulty is India able to balance her Budget. The British Government offers to retire all British military and civil officers on pension. This undertaking would enormously increase Government expenditure, for the posts thus vacant will have to be filled by others at full salaries.

The new Indian Government will be entirely under the control of the high tariff party there. Recent agitations have been subsidised by the manufacturers of India with the intention of receiving a more than adequate return in a spectacular raising of all import duties. Our exports, which last year were only £34,000,000, will undergo a drastic curtailment.

Under the new Constitution it might happen in a serious conflict between Mahommedans and Hindus that a Hindu Government at Delhi would call for the employment of British troops for the coercion of Mahommedans. The Viceroy might be compelled to consent in order to stop the spread of a devastating civil war.

The Indian Nationalists have a childlike belief in our folly. They envisage independence of the Empire, accompanied by full power to exclude all British goods and by the right to impose higher taxes on British businesses and people than are imposed on themselves. Yet they asssume that at the moment of danger an over-taxed, hard-pressed Britain will rescue them from the menace of conquest.

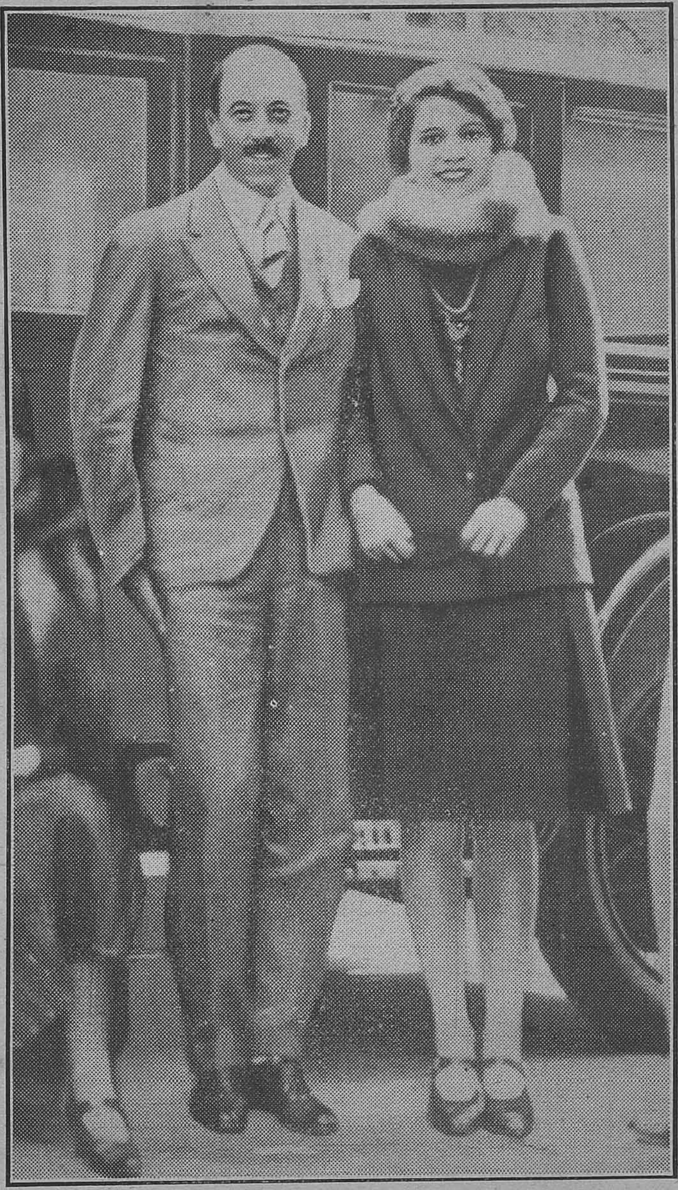
Ruined Lancashire then would be taxed to defend people who had spared neither time nor trouble to destroy its main industry.

Sentiment Dangerous

The price of Empire is eternal vigilance. If we wish to maintain a Britain with anything like our old wealth and prestige the young men and women of our country must awaken from their condition of pathetic contentment—to use the words of the late

Mr. Montagu, whose appointment as Secretary of State for India was probably the most disastrous appointment ever made in British political history. Economic impulses and policies are now coming into play in all the great countries of Europe. Nations like France with over-seas Empires are welding them into one economic whole. In following the same policy Britain will quickly restore prosperity to her harassed industries.

No British possessions such as India and Ceylon can stand alone without the powerful aid of Britain. They may within the next few years become the prey of aggressive nations who will make short work of their aspirations for economic and political independence. It is high time in our dealings with their peoples that realism, not sentimentalism, should be the guiding principle.



Mr. B. E. J. BURGE, District Magistrate at Midnapore, Bengal, who was shot by Indian terrorists in September, 1933, after his two predecessors had been similarly murdered. He is seen with his wife.

தமிழ்நாடு ஆவணக் காப்பகம்

MORE WARNINGS FROM CEYLON

By VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE

Daily Mail, May 11, 1933.

COLOMBO, CEYLON.

I WISH to tell the readers of *The Daily Mail* more about the new Constitution of Ceylon.

In September next the Constitution will be two years old. As a working instrument its age is not so much, for it was only after a general election for the State Council—as the local Parliament is called—that the Constitution became effective.

From the outset the native politicians made it clear that the Constitution would be used solely for the purpose of wringing further concessions from Britain. Each concession was to be regarded as a kind of Danegelt extorted from the " Ethelreds the Unready " of Westminster.

Council's Record

Let us see what this baby of representative Assemblies has done legislatively and administratively in its short life :

1. Carried by only one vote the cost of the Governor's travelling expenses, so that when this vote next time is refused—as I am assured it will be—the Governor will be marooned in his official residence without the necessary moneys to travel about the island.

2. Passed a Bill suspending all judgment summonses. This Bill, vetoed by the Governor, would have practically brought the whole business of the island to a standstill.

The banks and other credit institutions unable to collect the moneys due to them would have stopped all credit.

It is alleged that this measure was put forward to relieve impecunious members of the State Council of pressing obligations.

3. Passed taxation imposing higher taxes on British-owned businesses than on native-owned businesses.

4. Refused to carry out the Ottawa Agreements, thereby favouring Britain's trade rivals.

5. Administratively engaged in squeezing out the British officers of the Police Force, in whose hands rests entirely the maintenance of law and order.

While concentrating on squeezing out police officers there is a push all along the line to exclude British officials of all kinds, replacing them by native officials, although Ceylon's trade to-day is entirely the creation of British enterprise and capital.

Votes of Censure

The Governor recently communicated a long apologetic despatch explaining why it was impossible to fill the chief post in the

Government printing office with a native, because, as he quite rightly pointed out, there was no native in Ceylon who had the necessary technical knowledge. This department in its higher branches is staffed by competent British printing operatives. Yet the effort was made to put these highly competent technicians under an ignorant nominee of the native politicians.

At the moment of writing this article, the native members of the State Council are actively framing the terms of various votes of censure on the Governor for simply imposing his veto on measures which are based with the one and only purpose of destroying British influence in Ceylon. The native politician hopes that by heaping one impertinence upon another on the successive Governors of the island he will render it impossible for any self-respecting British official to accept the post.

The question will naturally be asked, what is the effect on British trade of the present situation here? Unfortunately, the trade figures tell the story. British trade is not declining. **It is vanishing.**

The Government here has the power to negotiate treaties of commerce with other countries. It may easily arise that a foreign country, taking umbrage at some treatment which its traders or its trade had experienced from the native Government of the island, would seek some other redress than a mere remonstrance.

In that case, although the Government of Ceylon has worked overtime to destroy British influence, trade, and property here, the British Government is bound to come with its armed forces to the support of the Ceylon Government.

Tie Ceylon Now!

Ruined Lancashire then would be taxed to defend people who had spared neither time nor trouble to destroy its main industry.

Ceylon should now be tied commercially to Britain in the same way that the Portuguese Colonies are tied to Portugal. All Ceylon cotton imports should be taken from Lancashire. Through all these years of terrible depression the Portuguese cotton industry, by reason of its almost exclusive market in the Portuguese Colonies, has been highly prosperous, with hardly any unemployment and earning handsome profits on the capital employed.

I arrived in Ceylon without the knowledge that in an island almost as near to India as the Isle of Wight is to Hampshire there was the telling, conclusive, and crushing argument against the Government's Indian policy. It was when I became aware of the posture of affairs here that I sent my cabled despatch to *The Daily Mail*, for I felt sure the seven or eight million readers of the newspaper with which I have been so proud to be associated for forty years could up and down Great Britain exert enough influence to put an end to the maddest scheme that ever entered the minds of British statesmen.

The suggested Indian Constitution is a hotch-potch of contradictory crudities. While making the Governor-General responsible for law and order in India, it places the Police Force of 400,000 men, whose special responsibility this is, under a native

Minister who may be entirely hostile to us. He might refuse to carry out the wishes or instructions of the Viceroy, and in doing so bring dramatically to an end British rule in India.

If space permitted, I could enlarge on other equally absurd crudities in the Government proposals.

From the date of the promulgation of the new Constitution **India will be bankrupt.** The present Finance Minister is warning the people of India that the new Government will be much more expensive than the old Government. To-day, only with the greatest difficulty is India able to balance her Budget. The British Government offers to retire all British military and civil officers on pension. This undertaking would enormously increase Government expenditure, for the posts thus vacant will have to be filled by others at full salaries.

The new Indian Government will be entirely under the control of the high-tariff party there. Recent agitations have been subsidised by the manufacturers of India with the intention of receiving a more than adequate return in a spectacular raising of all import duties. Our exports, which last year were only £34,000,000, will undergo a drastic curtailment.

Under the new Constitution it might happen in a serious conflict between Mahommedans and Hindus that a Hindu Government at Delhi would call for the employment of British troops for the coercion of Mahommedans. The Viceroy might be compelled to consent in order to stop the spread of a devastating civil war.

We were told, although I never believed it, that the granting of an independent Government to the Irish Free State would make peace between Great Britain and Ireland. Instead, it has enormously widened the gulf between the two countries. Mr. de Valera rejoices that he is rendering any *rapprochement* in the future quite impossible. He boasts to his partisans that by repudiating the annuity and other obligations he saves Ireland over £2,000,000 yearly and imposes that extra charge on the British taxpayer. (By the way, why has not the Government increased the duties on all Irish agricultural imports, whose competition presses so hardly on our farming industry? By raising the duties it would be quite easy to collect the difference of £2,000,000.)

Disastrous Road

In addition to the example of the Irish Free State, we are now experiencing the evil effects of the new Ceylon Constitution. Why should we travel any farther along the road which has provided us with such disastrous experiences?

As a return for defending India, Ceylon, and other dependencies of the Empire from foreign aggression we should secure exclusive trade agreements with these countries and thus restore the cotton industry of Lancashire and our iron and steel industries, and reinvigorate in a few months every one of our industrial areas.

Mussolini would promptly accomplish all this for his country. Where is the statesman who will do it for us?

THE POLICY OF SURRENDER

By VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE

Daily Mail, June 2, 1933.

THE India Office in London is gambling away British India.

The energy and devotion of ten generations of British men and women are to be sacrificed to a policy of funk. The Indian politicians, with a frankness refreshing in contrast with the hole and corner secret meetings of the Indian Commission, declare that immediately the new Government functions prohibitive duties will be imposed on all foreign manufactured goods, including British.

Further, they promise to place an immediate embargo on the export of gold, which is the only method to-day by which India meets in London the interest of her debt, the payment of pensions and other charges. Through the bankruptcy thus achieved they hope to destroy the last links binding India to Britain.

Malaya, Too

The Colonial Office in London, fresh from the exploit of thrusting on Ceylon a Constitution which is wrecking British prestige and commercial interests there, is now planning to put Malaya, with the great port of Singapore, under a similar kind of government. The new native Government of Ceylon openly favours Britain's trade rivals there, so we know what to expect from the projected new Government of Malaya.

The Foreign Office in London will, it is stated, begin shortly negotiations for the further surrender of British interests in Egypt. In the neighbouring North African countries of Tripoli and Tunis the Italian and French Governments are consolidating their hold and making them valuable outlets for their trade. In Egypt British trade is shrinking to inconsiderable proportions and we are being frowned out of the country.

In these three great State Departments counsels of abject timidity prevail sometimes against the views of the responsible Secretary of State. The will to rule requires courage, energy, and vigilance. British Governments since the war have been packed with old men, and old men have not these qualities.

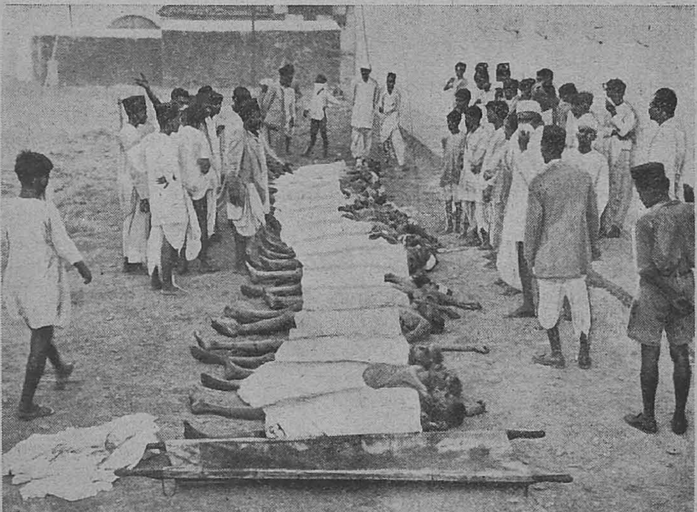
Scuttle Policy

We all enthusiastically worked at the last election to return the National Government No one worked harder than myself

to achieve this result, but now I know it is the aim of the National Government to scuttle out of India, Ceylon, Malaya, and Egypt, I am, like millions of electors, compelled to reconsider my attitude.

Our export industries are fighting for their lives. The stimulus of depreciated sterling is wearing off. The competition of Japan, Czecho-Slovakia, Belgium, Italy, and possibly Germany was never so full of dangerous possibilities as at present.

Within two years we may be facing a greater and graver crisis than two years ago. Yet the National Government apparently thinks one way of averting it is to throw away what remains of our great markets in India, Ceylon, Malaya and Egypt.



After a Hindu v. Moslem riot in Bombay—corpses awaiting cremation.

BRITISH INDIA IS OURS AND WE MUST NOT LOSE IT

BY VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE

Daily Mail, June 9, 1933.

B*RITISH India is ours.* It was bequeathed as a trust to the present generation of young British men and women by generations of splendid men and women who faced privations and perils to build for Britain the greatest over-sea Empire known to history.

Before we went to India it was a land roughly with one-fourth of the population of to-day, decimated constantly by famine, plague and cholera.

The ruling maharajahs' and rajahs' only occupation was war with each other, with all the miseries that savage war entailed upon the unfortunate inhabitants.

To-day India is a country of wonderful cities, splendid railways and roads, and with an irrigation system not equalled anywhere in the world.

To this miracle of achievement the Indian politician and agitator has contributed nothing. The great cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Rangoon, Karachi and many others are entirely the creation of British enterprise.

The immense agricultural population of India, with a vast proportion of the town-dwellers, know nothing of the agitators and their activities which secure so much attention in the London Press and are the preoccupation of the Secretary of State for India in London.

Hypocrisy

There is an easy explanation for the publicity which Gandhi and others have secured.

In the last twenty years many of the papers of India printed in the English language have passed under native control. Others have had their policy prescribed for them by threats to bomb the newspaper offices or do physical violence to the editor and members of his staff.

There is nothing more than a very scattered opinion in India among Europeans, whether civil or commercial, in favour of the India White Paper.

The whole of the Indian agitation is a sham and hypocrisy.

It is kept alive by the money of cotton mill owners and money-lenders, who hope, by forcing Britain out of her wonderful Empire in the East, to have at their mercy a vast population to despoil and plunder.

They have found some willing helpers among the men who have been appointed to rule India.

I wonder how many of us who worked might and main to return the National Government to office less than two years ago thought it was possible that a few months after the election high in office would be found Lord Irwin, who addressed as " my dear friend " the arch-revolutionary Gandhi, the instigator and organiser of the campaign to drive Britain, British men and women and British goods out of India.

Over-Population Peril

Britain is the most dangerously over-populated country in the world. This over-population would not have been possible except for our association with India and our other Eastern possessions. They brought great wealth to us to the extent, so it is computed, of more than a fifth of our national income and wealth. When we lose them a crisis of almost unparalleled gravity will occur and the young men and women of the country will know that all that lies ahead for them is a life of searching and immeasurable poverty.

Other countries with over-sea possessions have something more than a policy of indolence and drift. They have woven the needs and necessities of their distant lands into the fabric of their economic life.

Little Portugal, with her possessions in East and West Africa, has now so managed her trading relations with these Dependencies that they buy their cotton goods from Portugal. The result is that the Portuguese cotton industry is highly flourishing, with practically no unemployment.

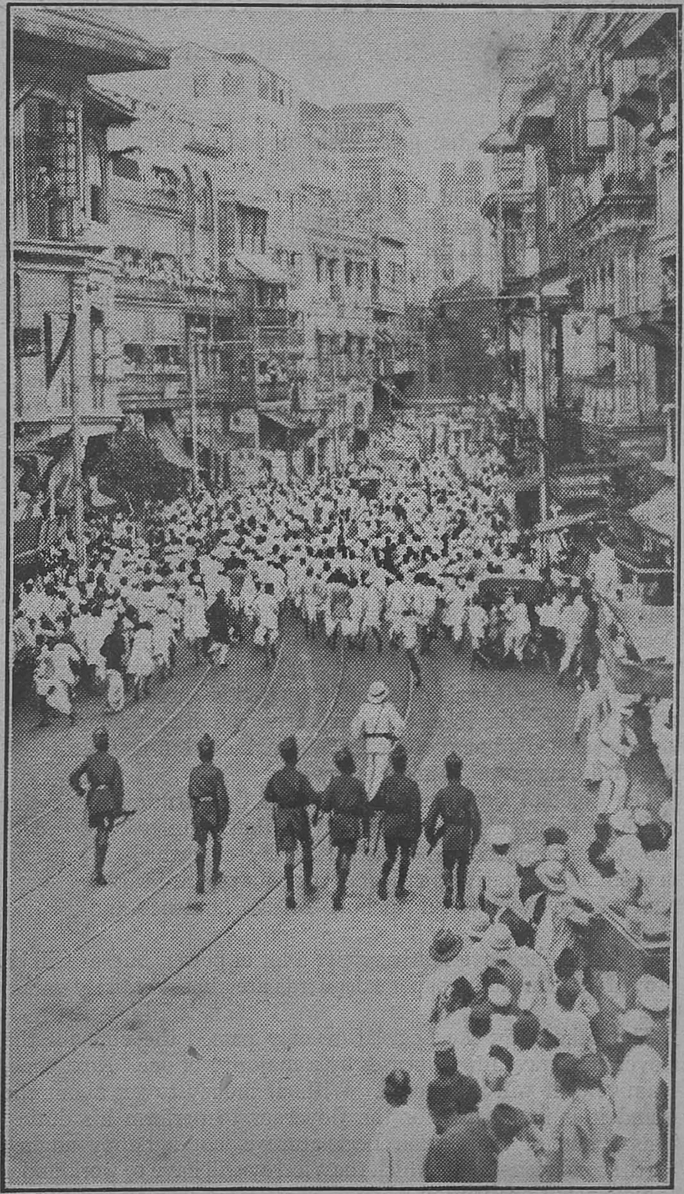
Little Belgium, in her Congo possessions in Africa of nearly 1,000,000 square miles, has done very much the same.

Ancient Politicians

Great Britain outside the Dominions has a population in her Dependencies of nearly 500,000,000 people. Yet we have so managed our affairs that among this vast population we have no reserve market, and our exports to these countries are sinking to tragic figures.

Moreover, there is this amazing paradox. The cotton operative of Lancashire may be deprived of his living by boycotts and tariff restrictions in India, yet for the defence of India he might be conscripted to protect the very people who have spared no effort to deprive him of the means of livelihood. To such a perilous absurdity has the muddled outlook of the old men of British politics brought this country.

The Nazi youth of Germany are demanding the return of Germany's one-time over-sea possessions. We are abandoning ours.



Police charging rioters at Bhuleshwar, Bombay, during frontier day celebrations on January 29, 1932.

INDIA—THIS MADNESS

By VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE

Daily Mail, June 16, 1933.

THOSE whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad.

Was there ever a more convincing instance of the truth of this aphorism than our politicians' Indian madness?

Britain is in a tight fix. It has to find something like £1,000,000 daily to pay for its over-sea foodstuffs. Yet at the very moment when the task of finding this money was never so difficult, every effort is being made in responsible quarters to throw away India, the main source of our wealth.

The three great Departments of State—the India, Colonial and Foreign Offices—have since the war been engaged in a task of Imperial sabotage.

The Foreign Office smashed in 1922 the Protectorate over Egypt which we then exercised. In its place it constituted Egypt as a Sovereign Independent State with power to declare war on anyone, including ourselves.

Egypt and Ceylon

It seems to have forgotten that Britain kept an Army of Occupation in the country. To-day the Egyptians are asking, pertinently, why, if Egypt is a Sovereign Independent State, there is still a British Army of Occupation there. The action of the Foreign Office was entirely gratuitous. Egypt should have become a splendid market for British products, but now our trade there is losing ground almost every day.

The Colonial Office smashed the old Constitution of Ceylon which had brought great prosperity to that country. Two years ago it replaced the old Constitution by one which is entirely in the hands of native political extremists who are working every hour of the twenty-four to oust British influence and British trade.

On paper the Governor has quite a lot of power, but, as will be proved later in India, paper safeguards are almost entirely valueless.

The other day the Legislature only passed the vote for the Governor's travelling expenses by a majority of one. Next time, I am told, it will be refused. Without money to get about the island it is impossible for the Governor to perform his duties. This action of the Ceylon Legislature is not a happy augury for the conditions under which the Viceroy will have to work under India's new Constitution.

Sabotage

The mischievous hand of the Colonial Office is now being thrust into the affairs of Malaya, and it looks as if the same sabotage

policy which is already proving so disastrous in Ceylon will be repeated in this over-sea possession.

Sabotage governs the policy of the India Office.

Tear up by the roots the devoted labour of ten generations of British people.

The Simon Commission expressly declared three years ago that any change in the government of India *must* begin in the Provinces.

What does it matter what the Simon Commission reported? Smash up its suggestions. We will start by beginning the reform of Indian Government at the centre.

What does it matter about the risks of going forward? By doing so we may lose India. Well, we may lose it anyway.

Such is the policy, if you can call such madness a policy of the India Office.

POSTSCRIPT.—For years past the Government of India has made compulsory deductions from the pay of Indian Civil Servants to establish a fund for pensions to their widows and dependents.

This fund now amounts to £4,000,000.

In its casual way the Indian Government has been using this money for its general purposes.

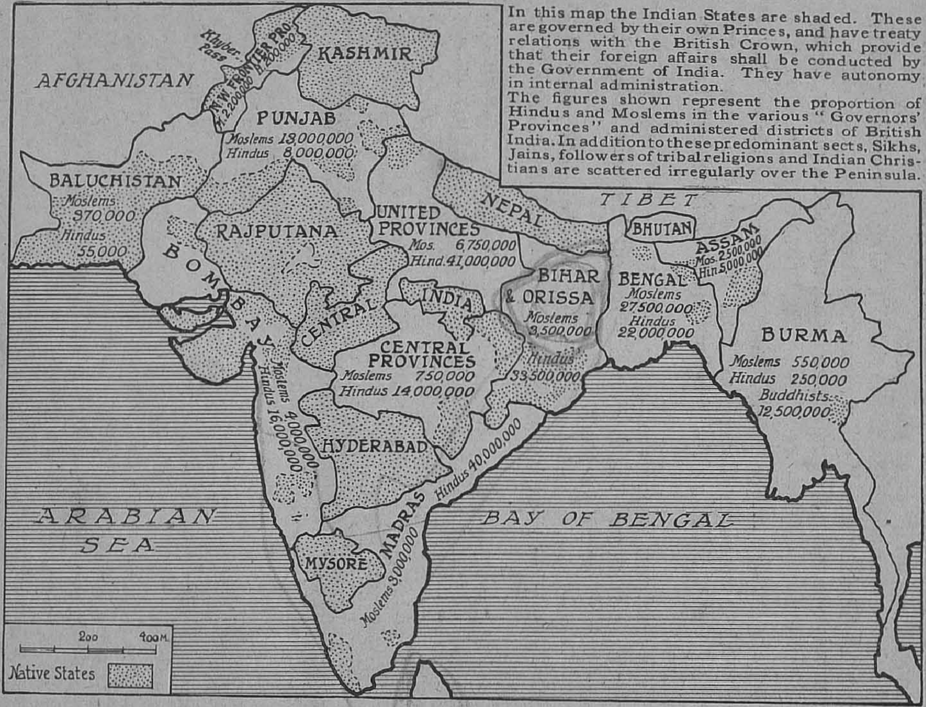
The contributories and pensioners are now demanding that this money should be deposited in the hands of the Public Trustee in London.

The Indian Government Actuary does not, however, agree with this demand. He suggests the money should be kept in India for another twenty-five years. Apparently the example of the Irish Free State and the threats of the Indian Nationalist leaders to confiscate everything British in India mean nothing to him.

Are we, as a people, really as simple-minded as this functionary appears to be?

In this map the Indian States are shaded. These are governed by their own Princes, and have treaty relations with the British Crown, which provide that their foreign affairs shall be conducted by the Government of India. They have autonomy in internal administration.

The figures shown represent the proportion of Hindus and Moslems in the various "Governors' Provinces" and administered districts of British India. In addition to these predominant sects, Sikhs, Jains, followers of tribal religions and Indian Christians are scattered irregularly over the Peninsula.



FANATIC FINANCE—INDIAN CONGRESS'S DEMAND FROM BRITAIN—£729,000,000

BY VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE.

Daily Mail, June 20, 1933.

THOSE who, like myself, have been studying the Indian problem for the last three or four years are almost at every turn confronted by new facts and arguments which make it still more impossible to understand how any public man could have committed himself to approval of the policy of the India White Paper.

During these years the India Office has deliberately embarked on a policy which is contrary to the interests of Britain.

Now, I am glad to say, public opinion is beginning to be stirred, and from my observation of the trend of public movements it will not be long before the people of the country take a hand in the controversy.

What are we to think of the hostile cross-examination at the India Commission, indulged in almost daily, of distinguished Indian Civil Servants and others who have come forward to defend and uphold British rule in India ?

All who, like myself, wish well to the National Government would welcome with much satisfaction a declaration that the whole question of the future of the Indian Government would be deferred until there was an end of the world's greatest crisis.

A fantastic report made by the Congress Select Committee on the financial obligations between Great Britain and India was referred to by Mr. W. H. Shoobert when he appeared before the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform as the representative of the European Government Servants' Association.

[**The Indian National Congress was set up for the ostensible purpose of bringing Indians and British closer together. From its inception it was dominated by the most voluble class of Indian politician, and to-day is composed of all the Nationalists of India.**]

In again bringing this report, which was first published exclusively and at considerable length in *The Daily Mail* on July 13, 1931, to the notice of the public Mr. Shoobert has placed patriotic Britishers under a great debt of gratitude.

Mr. Shoobert informed the committee that the Congress "experts'" report **was a publication which he could not get in England, but which was freely available in India.**

Congress Finance

He declared that the effect of the report "was almost complete repudiation of all financial obligations due by India in the future

on account of the Services, and, among other things, there was an account drawn up at the end of the report which claimed as due to the future Indian Government from Great Britain a sum of £650,740,000 . . . "

The report to which Mr. Shoobert referred was published by the Indian National Congress in 1931. Although, as he pointed out, it is circulated freely only in India, *The Daily Mail* is able to put its readers in possession of its full and fantastic terms. It was at its 45th Session, held at Karachi in 1931, that the Indian National Congress set out, in a resolution which appointed Mr. Gandhi as its delegate to the Round Table Conference, its intentions regarding all Indian financial obligations to this country.

Reaffirming its determination to work " to give the Nation control over the Army, external affairs, finance, and economic policy," Congress talked of " a scrutiny by an impartial tribunal on financial transactions of the British Government in India . . . "

Impartiality !

This " impartial tribunal " was duly appointed by the Working Committee of Congress, and called the " Indo-British Financial Obligations Committee."

It promptly arrived at the conclusion that " ' Public Debt ' in India is not ' National Debt,' for it is the result of the acts of the representatives of the British nation, as India had not even the shadow of a Constitution."

It decided that India ought not to have been required to pay for the external wars which it waged under the régime of the East India Company (which Queen Elizabeth incorporated in 1600.)

Therefore claims are advanced under this head as follows:

First Afghan War	£15,000,000
Two Burmese Wars	£14,000,000
Expeditions to China, Persia, Natal, etc.	£6,000,000

The contention of the committee is that India derived no material benefit from these wars, and that they were waged purely for British interests.

£40,000,000 Mutiny Claim

The most startling claim is one of £40,000,000 in respect of the cost of the Mutiny of 1857. (It is noticeable, by the way, that the word " Mutiny," wherever it occurs in the report, is printed in inverted commas.)

It is blandly suggested that the operations in quelling it were necessitated " by the mismanagement and misgovernment of India by those who were in charge of it," and that " the British Government, for whom the (East India) Company was carrying on the government of India at the time, is necessarily the proper party to shoulder that burden."

The report instances the case of the Boer War, and observes that Britain not only bore the cost of this war herself, but also paid £3,000,000 to assist the Boers to restore devastated farms

"It is but fair," say the financial experts selected by Congress, "that India should now claim to be relieved from the burdens of expenditures which were wrongly put on her shoulders."

Bill for £112,000,000

Accordingly they add together the total cost of the "external" wars, £35,000,000, the £40,000,000 cost of the Mutiny, and £37,200,000 "on account of Company's capital and dividend," and present a bill for £112,200,000.

They challenge the expenses, aggregating to more than £37,000,000, in connection with the Abyssinian Expedition, 1867, the second Afghan War, 1887, military operations in Egypt, 1882, and on the North-West Frontier, and the Burmese War, 1886, on the ground that these were all undertaken in Imperial interest—that is to say, in the interest of Great Britain, and that India was not concerned in them in any way.

They demand the return of India's European war "gifts" and the refunding of its share of the war cost.

Altogether a claim for £397,000,000 is made for "external wars" waged since India has been under the British Crown.

"Miscellaneous charges," including expenses incurred in the maintenance of the India Office, Aden, Persian and Chinese Consulates, Ecclesiastical charges, etc., estimated at £20,000,000, are challenged on the ground that these are Imperial charges, and so should fall on the Imperial Exchequer and not on India.

In regard to Burma, it is claimed that the deficits of Burma Budgets since 1886, aggregating to about £15,000,000, and the interest charges and the railway deficits of about £22,000,000, and a share in respect of the expenses of Indian defence calculated at £1,000,000 a year, amounting to £45,000,000 for the period since 1886, aggregating in all to £82,000,000, should be made good to India.

Gratitude !

As to expenses imposed by famine relief measures, the committee grudgingly recommends that these should be borne by India, as they were "incurred in her interest, however wastefully they might have been administered."

On the question of expenditure on railways the committee recommends that Great Britain should be asked to meet the expenses of "admittedly strategic lines in the N.W.F. Province and at Aden—amounting to about £33,000,000."

The total amount of past charges to India which Congress would have Great Britain repay is £729,000,000.

But that is not likely to be the complete bill.

One of two notes added to the report suggests that all interest payments made in respect of the items challenged should be claimed also. These amount to £536,000,000.

Thus the full account would be £1,265,000,000 !

India's Public Debt amounts at the present time to more than £1,100,000,000.

Therefore, it is naïvely pointed out, if the two groups of claims are admitted, they will be "sufficient to wipe out the whole of the Public Debt, apart from any other consideration."

INDIA AND THE "WHITE FLAG" PAPER

By VISCOUNT ROTHERMERE

Sunday Dispatch, April 15, 1934.

I WISH to put a question :—

What right has any elderly set of politicians, appointed by the British Government, to suppress those opportunities of employment and enterprise that were open to the young men of their own generation ?

For a British youth setting out on his career these times are hard enough already. Nothing was farther from the minds of the electors at the last general election than to make them harder. Yet India, where for generations so many brilliant young Britons won fame and fortune, while vastly greater numbers, in Government service or commercial pursuits, found lifelong work that benefited both India and themselves, is henceforth to be closed to British activity.

Indifferent

That will be the inevitable result of the predetermined conclusions of the Joint Select Committee on the Government's White Paper policy, which is due to report before long.

The majority of the elderly politicians whom the National Government has enrolled to approve its abandonment of Britain's mission in India are quite indifferent to the fact that the Indian administration whose creation they will recommend to Parliament would clear all British residents out of that country, bag and baggage, at top speed.

The public declarations of the Indian Congress agitators to whom the British Government is preparing its surrender leave no doubt as to what the proposed semi-autonomous Indian Government will do. It will bar all British officials from the public services and expel British commercial interests from India.

Cold Comfort

The thousands of young Britons who now earn their livelihoods in our Indian Empire will be turned out of their posts and thrown back upon the overcrowded labour market at home. There they will find themselves competing with all those Indian pensioners and their dependents whose incomes will cease directly the Indian Nationalists get to power.

On this question of the security of Indian pensions, the Government was challenged by Viscount FitzAlan in the House of Lords last Wednesday. The Minister who replied was Viscount Halifax, whose own record, during his Viceroyship of India, as Lord

Irwin, was one of continual and humiliating surrender to the Nationalist agitator Gandhi.

The only comfort this ill-omened spokesman could offer to those pensioners who have given a life's work to India was the assurance that the Government has entire faith in the proposed "safeguards" to secure their pensions.

No Work, But—

In exactly the same way the British Government which brought the Irish Free State into being had entire faith in the safeguards that were to ensure payment of the £1,000,000 a year required for the pensions of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Despite their confidence, Mr. de Valera has ceased to provide this money. **With no more than paper safeguards to protect them, Indian pensioners will soon be starving.**

If Great Britain abandons her historical relationship to India, one function only will remain which the young Englishman will be permitted to fulfil in that country. He will not be allowed to administer India, to build public works, to trade or teach or practise a profession in India—**but he may be compelled to fight for India.**

Such is the fate which the National Government is blindly preparing for our young men. The cotton operative who will be put out of work because the proposed new Indian Government, in the pride of its victory, prohibits the importation of Lancashire's products may easily find himself conscripted to line the trenches in defence of the Bengali who will have helped to ruin him, but who is incapable of fighting for himself.

Without British help India is impotent. The abandonment of that immensely rich and internally divided country to the incompetent conduct of its own affairs will rouse the covetous instincts of every Great Power in the world. If we once relinquish our most precious possession, other nations will fly to arms to seize it.

Elderly

It is probable that the consequences of its mischievous activities for the youth of Britain have never been realised by the Select Committee. The average age of its 32 members is 58. **Their own young days lie far behind them, and they have found no better employment for the fullness of their years than to assist the National Government to ruin our Indian Empire by its "White Flag" policy.**

The appointment of the Committee was a ruse to delude the British Parliament and people.

Packed Jury

When it fulfils its function of approving the Government's scheme, the country will be told that Britain is "committed" to the "White Flag" policy, and that any further delay in handing over the Indian Empire to the control of its irresponsible agitators would be a "breach of faith" on our part.

The Select Committee's report will be foisted on the nation as an impartial judgment based on unprejudiced investigation.

Mr. Winston Churchill has denounced this attempt to mislead public opinion. Several months ago he told the House of Commons that the majority of the Committee had been deliberately recruited from men who had already expressed views favourable to the White Paper.

Lord Lloyd has gone farther, and named eighteen out of the thirty-two members of the Committee who had committed themselves to the Government policy before their "investigation" of its merits began.

Responsibility

In this packing of the jury a leading part has been played by the chiefs of the Conservative Party, who by every tradition of their office should be the advocates and champions of British rule in India.

If this fatal folly had been foisted on the National Government by the Ministers who joined it from the Labour Party, the Conservative rank and file would long ago have risen in wrath against the whole conspiracy. But the responsibility for the scheme to abandon India cannot be laid at the door of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald or Mr. J. H. Thomas. One may search their speeches without finding any reference whatever to the Indian proposals.

Must we then conclude that the Conservative chiefs have determined to prove to the country that they can scuttle out of India as contemptibly as the most craven of Socialists?

Take Warning!

If so, they are succeeding admirably. But let them not think, in their complacent folly, that they will escape the Nemesis which lies in wait for traitors to a great trust.

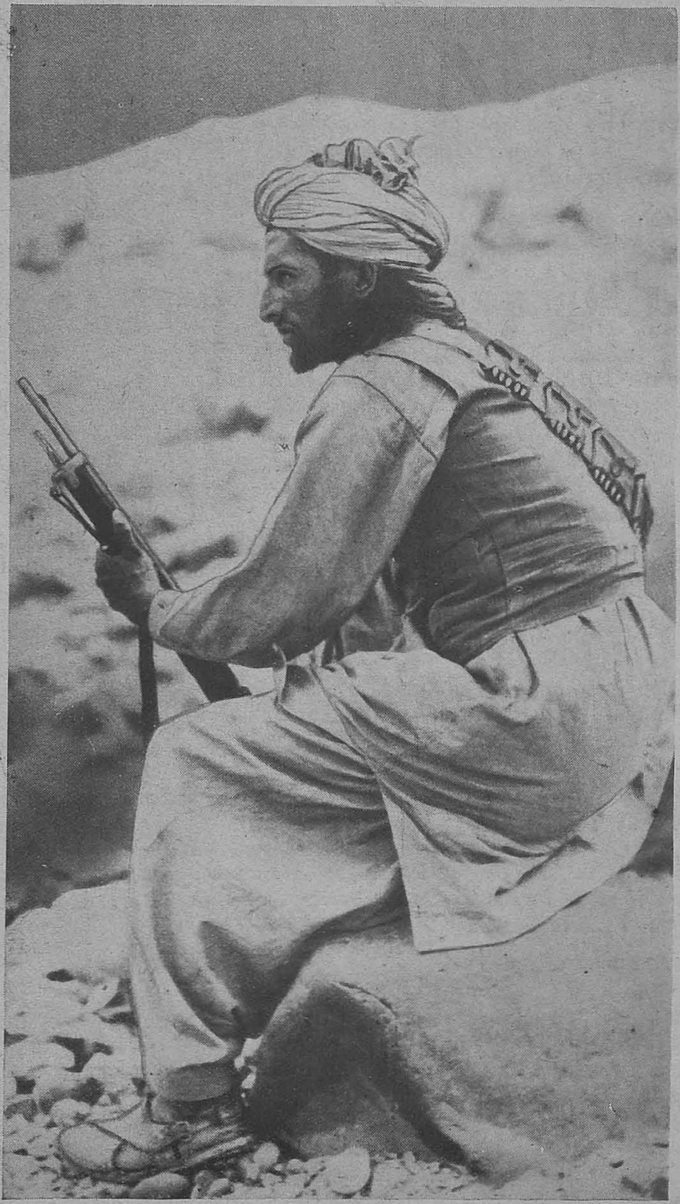
On the night of the next general election those responsible for the betrayal that is now being prepared will find themselves flung into well-deserved political oblivion by the righteous indignation of that Conservative Party which they are deliberately trying to deceive.

They will do well to take warning in time. If the Conservative Ministers in the National Government are not set on political suicide as well as the ruin of the British Empire they must tear up the White Paper and haul down the White Flag.

Dreamers

The nation is not to be fooled by any committee, however joint and select and subservient it may be. The instinct of the British people is to carry on its great work in India on the splendid lines that our forefathers laid down. That instinct is fundamental and infallible. The idle dreamers, simpering sentimentalists, and hand-picked party parasites whom the Government has chosen for its ventriloquial dolls are powerless to shake it.

The plain fact is that India is as indispensable to Britain as Britain is to India. In that diversified chain of countries that forms the British Empire, India is not only the richest link but also the diamond clasp. Loose it, and all the rest will fall into confusion. Keep it fast, and the worth of every unit is enhanced by the integrity of the whole.



Ever ready to plunder the Indian plains—
A N.W. Frontier mountaineer

WHY I OPPOSE SURRENDER IN INDIA

BY

14 WELL-KNOWN CONSERVATIVES

The Duchess of Atholl, D.B.E., D.C.L., M.P.

Because the transfer of posts, telegraphs and railways from the Viceroy's control will imperil defence ;

The transfer of courts and police will endanger order and the administration of justice ;

The increased cost of government will cripple India financially ;

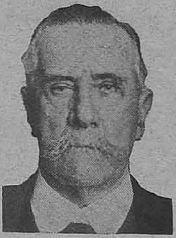
Interest of India's masses requires continued British-trained personnel in all services.

The Rt. Hon. Viscount FitzAlan, K.G., P.C., G.C.V.O.

It is evident that the White Paper is not going to be accepted, either at home or in India, with anything like unanimity.

But something approaching unanimity is essential in a matter of this stupendous gravity.

It is therefore to be hoped the Government will be prepared to agree to considerable modifications.



The Right Hon. Viscount Sumner, P.C., G.C.B.

(1) The White Paper scheme blocks the moderate constitutional reform that I desire.

(2) I fear its risks, as numbers of its supporters say they do.

(3) Only Parliament can pledge England ; idealist politicians cannot.

(4) India cannot be governed on " Safeguards."

(5) We have to keep India for her good, not to " catch the 'bus " for our own.

The Right Hon. Viscount Wolmer, P.C., M.P.

India is not yet fit for self-government. 92 per cent. of her 350,000,000 inhabitants are illiterate heathens whom England has rescued from chaos, carnage, famine, and pestilence.

To hand them over to a minute fraction of high-caste reactionaries would not be democracy, but a gross betrayal of England's trust.

Viscount Lymington

I oppose the proposals and the spirit of the White Paper, because :—

(1) They utterly ignore the welfare and safety of 98 per cent. of India's 330,000,000 people.

(2) They are a danger to the trade and employment of our people at home and a menace to our people honourably administering or trading in India.

(3) The White Paper is likely to destroy Indian tradition and culture of 4,000 years without putting any substitute in its place.

(4) Federation at the top when you cannot yet guarantee that Indian democracy can run a parish means anarchy, or re-conquest of India by English blood.

(5) The example of China and Ceylon should teach us that to give a hybrid democracy to India is to put the clock back.

Lord Ampthill, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I.

We have made India what she is to-day and we have a right to be in India to protect our own vital interests.

We have made it our exalted duty to protect the peoples of India from the disastrous evils of civil war and anarchy and it would mean disgrace and ruin to England to abandon that duty.

It would be cruelly unfair to the peoples of India to hand over our responsibility to them until they have got the power to exercise it. India will not be fit for self-government on Dominion lines until she is able to raise an army of her own capable of protecting her frontiers against invaders and maintaining internal tranquillity.

British soldiers must not be sacrificed for the inevitable blunders of inexperienced Indian politicians.

Field-Marshal Sir Claude W. Jacob, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.

The way in which municipal government and the work of District Boards have been carried out in India during the past fifty years, the great increase in bribery and corruption, the danger to the safety of the British Army in India and to the defence of India when all communications such as railways, roads, telegraphs and so forth are handed over to Indian ministers—these are a few of the many reasons.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

Because we have sent our best men to India for over 100 years to rebuild a broken empire.

Because we alone have worked for India's good.

Because we have invested a thousand millions for the development of India and surrender means more unemployment.

Because no Indian Government can manage the equivalent of the United States of Europe without better safeguards than now proposed.

Brig.-Gen. Sir Henry Page Croft, Bt., C.M.G., M.P.

I resist the proposed Indian Reforms because :—

(1) They impose upon Eastern peoples democratic government which has never succeeded in the East.

(2) The heterogeneous nations of India are illiterate as to 90 per cent. of their populations and unripe for these reforms.

(3) Those who demand reform in India have definitely declared their intention to secede from the Empire and repudiate debts.

(4) Without proving the case for reform in the Provinces it is proposed to abandon simultaneously Government at the Centre.

(5) This means the end of the British Empire in the East.

Major-Gen. Sir Alfred Knox, K.C.B., C.M.G., M.P.

India, diverse in races and creed and united only by Britain, is not ready for democracy. The Government proposals are an attempt to placate talkative politicians at the expense of the working masses, who want impartial rule ; if carried out they will reduce India to chaos and Lancashire to starvation.

The Hon. Esmond Harmsworth

(1) Because modern India is of our creation and we have a right to govern there.

(2) Because India is totally unready for self-government.

(3) Because the withdrawal of British administration would mean ruin both for India and the Empire.

(4) Because British trade with India would be killed while our impoverished industries were still taxed for India's defence.

Lieut.-Col. Sir William A. Wayland, M.P.

Self-government can only be a success when, after long years of training, education and willing co-operation, a people, incorruptible and resolute to administer impartial justice, can be considered fit to govern themselves.

The history of India proves conclusively that she cannot satisfy any of these conditions.

Mr. Brendan Bracken, M.P.

During the last thirty years parliamentary constitutions were adopted by a number of Asiatic countries. Followed chaos, corruption and anarchy. In those countries the people hailed as saviour the leader who freed them of a system of government alien to Eastern conditions. In fact, Asiatics were as glad to be rid of parliamentary institutions as our forefathers were to receive them.

Disregarding this ruinous record of parliamentary government in the East, an alliance of sentimental and prematurely senile English politicians, together with a coterie of ambitious, but utterly unrepresentative Indians, are endeavouring to spread a litter of parliaments over the sub-continent of India.

If their singularly ill-contrived schemes are not resolutely opposed, India will be plunged into a state of carnage and anarchy worse than that which existed before our rule began in India.

Mr. Randolph S. Churchill

I believe that British rule in India has been a blessing, not a curse, to the inhabitants; that peace and prosperity can only be preserved for India by the continuance of British rule; that the British Empire is the greatest stabilising and civilising institution in the world to-day, and that its dissolution would be a disaster for the whole world.

I believe that our trade with India is vital to the welfare of Britain, and that that trade can only prosper so long as the Pax Britannica is maintained.

I believe that the abdication of British rule would be fatal to India, to Britain, to the Empire and to the world.

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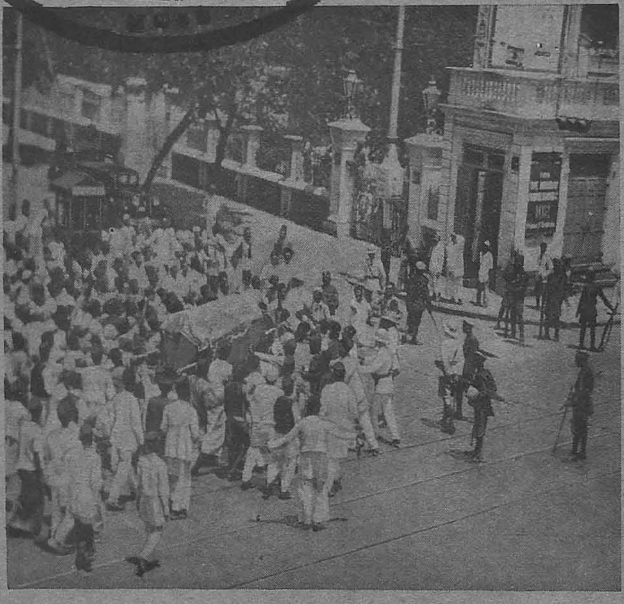

A Bombay Riot Scene.

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